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Pakistan-USA Relations in the Eyes of American and Pakistani Print Media: A Case Study of Post US Withdrawal from Afghanistan

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Abstract. Public Opinion about governmental issues is a worldwide phenomenon. The present research discusses two Pakistani (The Dawn & Daily Times) and two US newspapers (The New York Times & Washington Post) about the relations of both countries. It also highlights the role of the Pakistani and US Print Media with special concerns of political relations between Pakistan and the United States. The Analysis of different editorials, regarding post US withdrawal conditions published in the said newspapers, is also discussed in this research. Though Pakistani media has to face a lot of challenges in the regimes of dictatorship but with their determination and strong will and government supportive recent laws, media has entered into new arenas which were earlier considered to be a taboo. The newspapers are the main source of exchanging the views to international people. There is a need of a little bit censorship of the newspapers so that the morale of Pakistan people cannot be underestimated. Pakistan walked along with USA in the War on Terror. Pakistan considered the military support from USA very effective in combating the militancy and terrorism. US-Pak relations have been once again cold. Pakistan is looking to China and Russia for military assistance which is unbearable for the United States. USA is not satisfied with the military operations of Pakistan. It stopped the financial aid to military and it also denied selling the eight F-16 fighter jets because USA is worried about the rapidly increasing nuclear arsenals of Pakistan. The relations between Pakistan and the United States are going to be further cold. The newspapers mentioned above are covering the News regarding post US withdrawal implications for Pakistan. The US papers are in favour of slow pace of draw-down process but Pakistani newspapers suggests the US withdrawal in the favour of Pakistan.

Key words: Print media, Pak-US relations, War on Terror, Post US withdrawal plan.

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1. Introduction

The United States of America is considered as the super power of the international system. This is due to the policies and strategies adopted by the USA throughout the last century and it confronted with the other super power Russia the then Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) for many decades to gain this title. Both, Afghanistan and Pakistan are strategically significant countries for USA and USSR. USSR invaded Afghanistan with the aim of modernization and after some years of the withdrawal of the USSR, America came there with the aim of peace because some terrorist activities were found there. After 9/11 incident USA started a War on Terror, because the Taliban were serving as safe heavens for Al-Qaida's

leader Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan. Pakistan pledged its support to America to eliminate these terrorists from Afghanistan.

Media is getting so much importance in the world nowadays. Before some decades it is used by the governmental institutions for the formulation of public opinion of their nations, but today it is used for the formulation of the international public opinion. The governments whatever they do but they show things of their own choice and the media is the key to show these things. Media has two types: Print media and electronic media. Electronic media is the most popular media in the both literate and illiterate public. But print media is popular in only literate public. The USA has announced to drawdown its troops from Afghanistan but it cannot do so. This research study will analyze the reasons of this reluctance. The intervention of the USA for example in Kunduz Attack attracted the United States of America to involve again and implement new strategies towards Afghanistan and Pakistan and it is seen in the Washington Post Newspaper's Article "The US cannot afford to forget Afghanistan and Pakistan" by David Ignatius. Another example is the report of nuclear arsenals of Pakistan which made America conscious about Pakistan. Thus, this research will also show that how the USA formulate the public opinion of the world including Americans towards the legacy of US involvement in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Involvement of the USA in the both countries is not only affecting Afghanistan and Pakistan; it is the matter of international community of Muslims and international society simultaneously.

2. Pakistan and US Newspapers on American Withdrawal

There was an article published in the New York Times on 23 October 2013, when Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif visited the United States. It was expected that the perennially frayed ties would be mended through this meeting. As Prime Minister was new in his office, he was seeking to strengthen his government. It was the time when USA was pulling out its troops from Afghanistan and Pakistan. The issue of drone attacks was much highlighted in Pakistan. Due to the drone attacks, the United States was notorious in Pakistani people. There was no interior war in Pakistan such as Operation Zarb-e-Azb. At that time, USA and Pakistan, both were seeking a harmonious way and peaceful talks between both countries to overcome the terrorism in the region. In this paper, it was criticised that Pakistani Prime Minister was talking publically about the close down of drone strikes which are creating the tensions between both countries. But at the same time President Obama was not discussing the drones, he only stated that both countries should find a way which would not harm the sovereignty of Pakistan and the national interests of both countries. (Landler, 2013) President Obama also explained when Mr. Sharif seated next to him. He explained that to work with Pakistan is a tough task. He considered this meeting and work together as a source of strength which would provide a constructive way rather than destructions and tensions (Landler, 2013).

The financial aid to Pakistan was a symbol of new beginning. It was considered the third attempt to reset the relations between the United States and Pakistan. The meeting had been very peaceful, as Mr. Sharif said that the terrorism is considered as a shared threat. There is a need of sincere and serious efforts which should not indulge into any game. (Landler, 2013)

US President appreciated the first peaceful and democratic transition of power through the elections of 2013, so he offered to support Pakistan in fields of education and economy. He also highlights the political and security problems of Afghanistan. In the response, PM signalled to negotiate with the Pakistani Taliban. This signal was not much encouraged by USA.

There was an article in the Washington Post, titled, “*As Obama visits India- Pakistan looks to Russia for military, economic assistance*” (Craig, 2015). This article was written by Tim Craig in January 2015. He is the chief bureau of the Washington Post in Pakistan. He has worked on Afghanistan and Iraq’s conflicts. He also covered the conflicts of the government of Columbia district. He said that Pakistan is finding new friends because the United States has found close to Pakistan Rival neighbor India. According to him, Pakistan is looking towards Russia for new friendship. Pak-Russian relations have been cold in the Cold War. Since then these countries could never establish warm ties. In November 2014, Islamabad welcomed Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu where he signed an agreement with Pakistani Generals regarding military alliances. According to Tim Craig Pakistan is seeking co-ordination of Russian military. Pakistan needs the help of Russia to counter the continuous problems of terrorism and narcotics. It is also seeking the help of Russia to overcome the problem of shortage of energy.

Pakistani military and intelligence has close links to this institute. Pakistan was restless when Obama visited India, and not Pakistan. Chief of Army Staff (COAS), General Raheel Sharif visited China for further strengthening their long-standing economic and military relations. According to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) which monitors arms sales, Pakistan is getting about \$4 billion weapons since 2006. It is also said that Pakistan has gotten arms for \$2.5 billion in last nine years from the United States. USA is Pakistan’s second largest arms supplier following China. Tasneem Aslam, the spokesperson of military of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan said, “*Pakistan does not want to put all of its eggs in one basket.*” (Craig, 2015). Leading a high level delegation to Russia, she explained that Pakistan is seeking good relations with all the super powers of the world (Craig, 2015).

Haji Muhammad Adeel, chairman of Pakistan Senate’s Foreign Relations’ Committee and a lawmaker said that Pakistan’s urge to USA very after its independence was a mistake. He explained that Pakistan should look toward Russia rather USA after the independence of Pakistan. Pakistan fought for Afghanistan against Russia but this fight brought drugs and terrorism in return. So, this is the time when Pakistan has understood the mistake and it is looking good relations with Russia. (Craig, 2015). All the above statements are causing cold relations between Pakistan and USA.

There is an article published in the Dawn newspaper on 22nd of February 2014 by Anwar Iqbal. In this article, former head of US & NATO Forces, McCrystal warned that if USA pullout all its troops from Afghanistan, the country will go. There was a move for voting in the US Congress. It was a move for whether to leave behind some troops or pullout all the troops from Afghanistan. He warned in an interview to CBS News, that there could be Iraq-like situations in Afghanistan, if US would pull out all troops, now. He stated, “*I think it should be a warning – no two situations are exactly the same — I think we should take a clear lesson from what has happened in Iraq,*” (Iqbal, 2014).

According to the article, the US withdrawal from Iraq caused the sectarian violence in the countries of the Middle East. Furthermore, Al-Qaida got the chance to re-emerge in some parts of the Middle East. The article again quotes General McCrystal warning about the weakness of Afghan government and the security forces. He said, “*I think what Afghanistan needs is a demonstration of commitment and partnership and friendship. That doesn't mean many, many thousands of troops, but I think it means some presence that reassures them that unlike 1989 when we walked away, we would not do that*” (Iqbal, 2014).

In the article, the writer explains that, the United States was planning to withdraw its all troops from Afghanistan, keeping a small residual force to assist and train the forces of Afghanistan. But the then President of Afghanistan Mr. Hamid Karzai refused to sign a security pact with USA. This refusal created doubts about the plan. There were some other US lawmakers and officials who suggested the US government not to withdraw totally from Afghanistan. Furthermore, the writer also discussed that there was a survey held in the USA,

which showed that the invasion of Afghanistan is a big mistake by USA. The result of this survey is that USA should not finance the countries full of corruption like Afghanistan.

There is a column published in Dawn on November 24th, 2014. In this column the writer explains that Afghanistan and Pakistan both welcome the Obama's announcement to expand US combat role in Afghanistan. A senior diplomat of Pakistan said, *"Pakistan has all along been advocating an orderly withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan and maintained that an abrupt withdrawal of forces will neither be in the interest of Afghanistan nor the region,"* (Iqbal, 2014). He also said that Pakistan government seeks stability in South Asia.

According to another senior diplomat of Pakistan, Pakistan and USA are united in their views regarding the stability process for Afghanistan. This statement shows that Pakistan is agreed with the United States. The President's decision to deploy combat troops in Afghanistan after 2014 is considered the reflection of the above views. According to this news, senior officials of the United States told that the Obama had decided to provide support Afghan National Security Forces in combating the terrorism in Afghanistan. But this support is for only limited situations to prevent possible terrorist attacks.

According to Pakistani official, Pakistan wanted USA not to withdraw from Afghanistan before making its strong and stable. He said, *"We want stability in Afghanistan because we are their immediate neighbours and instability there will also have a direct impact on Pakistan,"* (Iqbal, 2014). Jalil Abbas Jilani Pakistan's Ambassador considered that the complete US withdrawal from Afghanistan is not a good idea. He said, *"Even the talk of US pullout has started having its impact. Pakistan has started to receive more Afghan refugees than before, this shows that the people of Afghanistan too have fears"* (Iqbal, 2014). Maj. Gen. Hamidullah, the top Afghan army commander for southern Afghanistan, based in Kandahar, *"When we don't have proper air support, the enemy targets our forces with heavy artillery from the mountains, destroying our positions.... Our air force is not strong enough to support entire infantry units,"* (Iqbal, 2014).

3. Strategic Pattern of South Asia & US Expectations from Pakistan

In this article the writer Dr. Ejaz Hussain suggested that Pakistan should protect its own larger interests. According to him it is necessary for Pakistan at this critical point. By its strategic and economic importance, South Asia always attracts the other powers, whether they belong to the region or not. Writer recalling the invasive strategy of Central Asian invaders, medieval Muslims and European colonizers, assumed this area has irreversible significance even in the modern age. He gave the example of two poles of the Cold War: USA and USSR. They sought to get allies in South Asia. After partition in 1947, India apparently stayed non-aligned but it was open to everyone that India is Socialist. On the other hand, Pakistan opted to be allied of the Capitalist USA. Pakistan's early strategic perspective was shaped by the individual socialization except institutional socialization. These individuals were the politicians and bureaucrats of that time. It is true that Russians looked to Afghanistan since Czarist era. This is the sign of being active actor in South Asia and the strategic importance of Afghanistan as Pakistan and India have. Russia invaded Afghanistan to penetrate in South Asia economically, politically and strategically. India also looks to Afghanistan to suppress Pakistan and to make path to Central Asia. Musharraf acted rationally and adopted a soft and cooperative policy for the global superpower.

There is an opinion article published in the Daily Times in December 2014. In the article the writer criticized the US expectations to Pakistan saying the following:

When Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff (COAS) visited USA, US gave two messages. First, Pakistan should promote friendly relations with its neighbor Afghanistan. Second, Pakistan should counter the militants hidden in Pakistan's land. According to the writer US is not satisfied to Pakistan as the statement of "do more" is a sign of incompetency of Pakistan. The

United States' Af-Pak policy 2009 is known as the Kerry-Lugar-Berman Act of October 2009. This policy had same demands as USA is demanding at this time. According to these demands it is clear that US assumes that Pakistan is not inclined to any Afghan government. As well as Pakistan is a pro-Taliban state. Another thing is Pakistan can force the Taliban to make them lay down their arms. Pakistan also can influence the Taliban to accept the constitution of Afghanistan and to recognize the Afghan government.

Furthermore, the militants who can cross the borders of Afghanistan and India are looked after by Pakistan as we as Pakistan is considered to play its reduced regional role in the post September 11 world. The writer also argued that the long time US visit of the COAS of Pakistan is the indication of weak Pakistan's civil government and military relations. On the other hand, the relations between the US government and Pakistan military are strong. It is also considered that Pakistan government and military General have less confidence. On the other hand, Pakistan military and US government understand one another. The writer also said there are many people in Pakistan who used to emphasized that the post US withdrawal phase, the Afghan National Army (ANA) is not able to combat terrorist attacks whenever it happens. ANA is considered a smaller in number and less equipped to counter terrorism bravely. At this time US President has retained combat-specialist US forces in the country for further time span. This is the sign that USA understands the incompetency of the ANA and the consequences of the weakness.

US wanted a coalition between Abdullah Abdullah and Ashraf Ghani to run the central government. The positions should be declared and the roles should be shared of the both governments in Afghanistan. This was a new experiment in Afghanistan in which a coalition was going to formed after election to run the affairs of the state democratically. Another thing is that this coalition required armed protection, which has been provided. By the agreement, the spirit of the entities who were against the presence of USA in Afghanistan was in trouble. At the end of the document, the writer says, it seems that "everything has gone fine this year". As peaceful elections have taken place, the smooth transition of power from one elected democratic government to another was another good sign. However, the actual results would be seen in March 2015. As this month is considered start of the activities which could be unwillingly disastrous.

4. Role of US and NATO in the Crisis of Afghanistan

In this article the writer highlighted the role of the United States and the NATO forces in the war of Afghanistan. He starts his statement with a Pashto proverb which is *"Expecting the world to treat you fairly because you are a good person is a little like expecting the bull not to attack you because you are a vegetarian"* (Jalalzai, 2014).

He highlighted the corruption in Afghanistan as a big hurdle in the way of development in the country. There is no one who can build a strong and well equipped army and corruption free bureaucracy in the country since 2001. Since that year Afghan government has been fighting with their own people. Corruption is considered as a threat to the security of Afghanistan. It is due to the sectarianism, ethnicity, Taliban insurgencies and the fight for power in Afghanistan, that the state is weak and incompetent. The writer criticized that there are no services provided to the citizens and no revenue generation actors to boost the economy. The narcotics and criminal trade are the big challenges for Afghan development authorities. After the start of the US War on Terror in Afghanistan and the financial support and assistance of US, ISAF and NATO, it was assumed that Afghanistan would be secured and prospers. But this was difficult due to the corruption and the confronting policies of Mr. Karzai towards the neighboring countries. It is considered that the end of the combat operations do not mean that the end of the War on Terrorism. This assumption took USA towards the decision of not to withdraw its forces through and through from Afghanistan.

The writer criticized the impressive and intellectual charm of Mr. Ashraf Ghani. He said that Mr. Ghani could not impress the world leaders and could get the donations from few countries which would continue up to 2017 and beyond. But on the other hand majority of states declined to give support. This was tough time for Afghanistan. In order to seek cooperation for stability, he visited Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, China and Nepal. He tried to talk with Taliban on security agreements but they refused. The Taliban wanted some seats in the unity government. The problem became more intensified when dozens of suicide attacks have been in Kabul in November 2014. In these attacks many people were injured and killed. For instance, 57 people were killed and hundreds were injured in Paktika province of Afghanistan.

These attacks were the question mark on the future and the performance of the unity government. The involvement of Afghan forces in the provision of refuge to Taliban is also found. Afghan Senate also blamed that there are some high-ranking government officials who has been providing the assistance to Taliban. Mr. Lutfullah Baba accused that a government official is providing transport to Taliban to move their targets. The writer quotes the first vice-president, and war criminal, Abdul Rashid Dostum, who warned on 18th November 2014, *"There are insiders who cooperate with the enemy in carrying out such attacks, otherwise how can they come and reach the DarulAman area and the airport road?"* (Jalalzai, 2014).

Through this article the writer wanted to highlight the Afghanistan's security conditions as well as the political weakness and corruption. So that USA could align its policies towards Afghanistan as well as Pakistan. Highlighting the security issues in the country, the writer said the security threats are common all over in Afghanistan. And the Afghan strength could be imagined through the weakness and less control of the Afghan army. General Shir Muhammad Karmi, the Afghan army chief, blamed that the government of Afghanistan did not provide the weapons and other services to the army in Kandhar and Helmand provinces of Afghanistan. The writer concluded that, *"Peace activities in the country do not appear to be successful because the conflict is not ripe for a resolution"* (Jalalzai, 2014).

5. US Drawdown Plan 2015

According to this news the Obama administration is abandoning the US troop's withdrawal plan to reduce the number of US forces in Afghanistan to 5,500 by the end of 2015. There was no final recommendation on the levels of the troops. Obama administration was hanging on the slow withdrawal of the troops. Obama administration is planning a slow process of the withdrawal. While there is no final decision but it is considered that 9,800 troops will remain in Afghanistan. These troops are combating troops which would remain in the country throughout the year. It is also decided that some of the troops will remain after the year 2016. A new plan was expected by President Obama on the US visit by Afghan President Ashraf Ghani. At that time, it was not clear that America would decrease its troops' level.

According to the opinion of military leaders the maintenance of more troops will support the Afghan government and Afghan military. But Congress opined that there should be a slow drawdown because the fast drawdown will create problems and allow the terrorists to take Afghanistan into chaos. According to the last plan announce by Obama in 2014 was the number of troops will be 5,500 by the end of 2015 and a complete drawdown will be by the end of 2016. There would remain only the routine embassy security that would be 1,000 in numbers. It was criticized to discuss the matter publically. The final decision is allowed to announce and discuss. The unity government of Afghanistan promised to take efforts to stabilize the country. But the writer in the end of the document said, *"Ghani and other Afghan leaders have made it clear that they would like as many U.S. troops to remain for as long as possible"* (Officials, 2015).

6. Nawaz-Obama Meeting 2015

There is an article published in the Dawn at 23rd October 2015. According to the article, the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the President of the United States met in the Oval Office of the White House. According to the article, before this meeting, Mr. Obama talked to media. This meeting was prolonged almost two hours which seems unusual. In the meeting both leaders share their views about to tackle the problem of terrorism. The joint statements reflect the view that Pakistan is secure and there is no terrorist who can operate in Pakistan, even the Haqqani Network. They also shared their views about the skirmishes on the Line of Control. They believed that there should be positive and constant dialogues between Pakistan and India especially to resolve Kashmir conflict. The both leaders believed in the peaceful resolution of these conflicts.

According to this column they also expressed their obligation to advance an Afghan-owned and Afghan-led peace, reconciliation and settlement process between the Afghan government and the Afghan Taliban. Mr. Obama highly praised Pakistan for hosting the talks between Taliban and Afghan government in July 2015. He admired the PM's will to facilitate a reconciliation process. The reconciliation process would help to end insurgencies in Afghanistan. Prime Minister Sharif guaranteed that Pakistan is not against any other state. Both leaders shared their views that improvement in the relations between Pakistan and India is the key to lasting peace, prosperity and stability in the region. Pakistan and USA have been committed for security relationship since 2001. They declared that the stability and peace in South Asia depend on the cooperation among the South Asian states. By this cooperation the extremism and militancy can be controlled in the region. Talking about the newly emerging extremist from Sahel to South Asia, they declared the satisfaction about the working of USA and Pakistan. They worked closely to counter the extremist groups such as Daesh. They also repeated their obligation to combat the extremist paradigm that pushed such terrorist groups. US President raised his fear concerning the hostility of the US nationals in the region. Prime Minister stated that Pakistan would assist US forces to return of these American hostages safe and sound.

The writer also highlighted that US President praised positive tasks by Pakistan to counter the explosive devices. They made considerations to further boost their defense cooperation. They committed to work together to combat such explosive devices. They also recognized that a safe and secure border between Pakistan and Afghanistan is a necessary for combating terrorism and insurgencies in the region. They also declared that the effective border coordination mechanism is important for achieving these goals.

Talking about the strategic stability both leaders recognized the shared interest in the region. They emphasized that every state should work jointly to strengthen the peace and stability in South Asia. They knew the importance of the regional stability and balance. They also committed to work together to compose the Nuclear Security Summit hosted by President Obama next year. President Obama welcomed Pakistan with the Nuclear Security Summit process. He also welcomed Pakistan for its cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency and other international forums. In the last the writer said that the leaders distinguished Pakistan's efforts to develop its commitment to multilateral export control areas and to enhance Pakistan's strategic controls on trade. They welcomed each other and praised each other for doing their best to counter terrorism, to facilitate Afghan reconciliation, to work together for security issues and for cooperation and coordination. The writer concluded that, Pakistan and USA knew that bilateral relations are necessary for security, stability, peace and Non-Proliferation Working Group. They noted that both states should continue to stay engaged to further put up on the ongoing considerations in the working group.

There is another editorial which was published on 24th October 2015 in the Dawn newspaper. In this editorial the meeting between the Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif

and the US President Barak Obama, was criticized. According to the editor, the meeting has gone smoothly. There were some issues which are out of PM's control such as some security issues, drone issues etc. This meeting was a civilian nature, in which only discussion was the expansion of bilateral relationships. According to this editorial, the United States did not want the help of Pakistan to fight with terrorists in Afghanistan and Mr. Obama did not have a good strategy in Afghanistan. If USA do not have any proficient strategy, who is so-called super power, then the countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan could never overcome the economic and security problems. However, it is hundred percent in Pakistan's interest that Afghanistan is stabilized and secure.

The editor suggested that America should abstain from linking Pakistan with terrorism. Instead America should help Pakistan to overcome terrorism in proper manners as secure and stable Pakistan will boost peaceful environment in South Asia. Pakistan should be taken in positive perspective and not in negative.

7. Pakistan's Counter-Terrorism Programs

There is a piece of news published in the Dawn on 25th of October 2015, describing the Pakistani efforts to counter terrorism. According to the news US State Department spokesman Mark Toner stated in the media that Pakistan has tensions with its neighbours and it should overcome these issues. And the efforts to counter terrorism should be expanded. He said, *"We want to see those efforts expand. But it's such a complex dynamic,"* (Dep, 2015).

This was the time when Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif met US President Barak Obama. In this meeting Nawaz and Obama agreed to take effective actions against extremist, terrorist, and other militants. It was also decided that Pakistan would take necessary actions against Lashk-e-Taiba and Haqqani network. There was an agreement between both on the reconciliation of Afghanistan. Nawaz was seeking international support in the Kashmir Conflict. He also said that India is building up major arms, with the help of other powers and refused the peaceful talks. He also charged India of violating the ceasefire across the LoC.

In news Mr. Anwar Iqbal said that the Pentagon releases millions of dollars from the CSF to Pakistan. Pentagon has decided in August 2016 to withhold \$300 million aid to Pakistan. This fund was withheld due to the American dissatisfaction regarding the insufficient performance of Pakistan regarding the Haqqani network. The spokesman of Pentagon Adam Stump said in the media, *"The funds could not be released to the government of Pakistan at this time because the secretary has not yet certified that Pakistan has taken sufficient action against the Haqqani network [as] per the fiscal year 2015 National Defence Authorisation Act requirement,"* (Iqbal, 2016).

If the Congress certifies Pakistan, CSF will release \$300 million to Pakistan annually. According to Mr. Stump in the fiscal year of 2015 \$1 billion were authorised from the CSF, in which \$700 million were reimbursed to Pakistan and the remaining \$300 million were withheld and there is no further reimbursement for Pakistan as the US Defence Secretary did not certify Pakistan. There is an amendment in the Act which requires the certification of Congress to release the fund. After the amendment this is the first time the fund is not reimbursed. This is the way Pakistan would take action against the Haqqani network forcefully. US Defence Secretary requested to reprogram the funds to keep the funds for other requirements. However, the spokesman of Pentagon admired the sacrifices of the military of Pakistan and acknowledged the efforts to counter terrorism in the tribal areas of Pakistan. He also stated that Pakistan military has reduced the ability of the terrorists and other militant groups to survive in North Waziristan and in the FATA. However, Pakistan should counter the Afghan Taliban and Haqqani network in other parts of the country.

On the other hand, Pakistan Ambassador assured that Pakistan will continue its counter terrorism operations to clear the other areas and will not allow terrorists to come back to the

cleared areas. The Ambassador appreciated the CSF as the most cooperative arrangement between the United States and Pakistan. The CSF is an arrangement to pursue common interests and objectives of both countries.

8. The Pakistan, China, India and USA Nexus

There is a column published in the Daily Times on 26th May, 2016 by Saud bin Ahsan. Talking about the Sino-Pak friendship the columnist paid thanks to the leaders of the both countries for flourishing good relations. In 2016 Pakistan and China are celebrating the 65 years of successful diplomatic relations. Admiring the strength of the friendship the writer said there is no matter how the conditions of the both countries have, what are the differences in the ideologies, culture, and other dynamics, the bilateral relations are grown steadily. It is a truth that Pakistan and China always support, respect and understand each other. Pakistan stood with China during the diplomatic isolation of China. Between Mao Zedong and Richard Nixon, Pakistan acted as a bridge. China also considered strong Pakistan as an asset to China. They both backed each other at every place and point of insecurity.

There is an opinion feature titled, *"The US, India, China and Pakistan"*, by Siraj Shawa in the Daily Times. According to the writer China is the second largest economy of the world and the top most economy of the world in purchasing the armed powers. China has taken the initiative of "One Belt, One Road". And Pakistan is a most important supporter of the initiative. Its main motive is to connect China with Western Europe. Militarily China is a super power now. China does not want the regional hegemony but it seeks the best economy in the world. Strategically it has disputes with most of its neighbours, but it has good economic relations with them. US saw the modernization of Chinese military as a threat for the national interests of the United States. USA seeks the dominance in Asia and China could be the challenge for USA shaping the regional politics of Asia. China has disputes with Taiwan over the Islands in the South China Sea. USA, being the protector of the Taiwan, is nervous about China. China also shares the border dispute with India. The other issues between China and India are Tibet issue, Chinese attitude on Kashmir dispute, and Sino-Pak collaboration. The United States and India are upset due to the Chinese support to Pakistan. In this regard USA approaches India and both signed the US-India Civil Nuclear Deal in 2005. In 2016, India offered to become the member of the NSG which was supported by the United States. In April 2016, US Defence Secretary visited New Delhi and signed the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement to share the military logistics. These liaison relations between India and USA are the result of anxiety for China and Pakistan as well. Pakistani people believe that India is another source of terrorism in Pakistan. The US is trying to make India more powerful which is disturbing the balance of power in South Asia. In the last the writer suggested that US should not disturb the balance of power in the region. He said, *"Making another great power in Asia will prove counterproductive. Instead of containing China, the efforts would provoke both Beijing and Islamabad. The US should not disturb the regional balance in South Asia, as it would make Pakistan more sceptical of US intentions, and on the other hand, it wouldn't even prove to be productive in containing China"*(Shawa, 2016).

9. The Killing of Mullah Akhtar Mansoor

The writer opines that President Obama has never visited Pakistan after coming into office. But he visited India recently. The writer thinks that President Obama is unaware about the phenomenon of the 'double-role' which is associated with him in Pakistan. The writer said, *"Perhaps someone in the Central Intelligence Agency at Langley, Virginia, or perhaps his aides at the White House should have him spend some time on YouTube or Netflix, going through a long list of Bollywood and Lollywood blockbusters. The ambiguity may dissipate*

about how two people can look alike, while they may or may not be related to one another"(Asghar, 2016).

The writer indicated the titles of some Bollywood movies which have two personalities with same face and appearance. He highlighted the names as follows: Bairaag, Don, Duplicate, Dhoom 3, Ram aur Shyam, Sita aur Geeta, and very recently, Fan. The writer is completely persuaded that if Obama watches just a few of these movies at the weekend at Camp David, with some concentration, he will understand the things very much. Then he would understand how Wali Muhammad can be assumed as Mullah Mansour by mistake. If he does not have time for such movies, our security apparatus should stop wasting their time on formula script. It means that we are poor actors in front of the whole world. Security is related to internal situations as well as foreign policy of a country. The policies of a country should be checked and changed according to the constantly changing world circumstances. There is anger on how the US created the Tehrik-e-Taliban in 1980s and used Pakistan as the trainer financier of Mujahideen at that time. After 40 decades Pakistan is still same to the history. The writer explained that USA is superpower which can change its policies according to its national interests, and advantages. Other underdeveloped states cannot even understand its games. This is true that there is only diplomacy in the foreign relations. Pakistan's interior minister claimed that he was Wali Muhammad but the Taliban opposed the statement and claimed that he was Mullah Akhtar Mansoor. Pakistan government was stuck in the possible duplicity of the man. At the end of this piece of paper, the writer said, how is this possible that the killing of the leader of Taliban is necessity of peace keeping process but the Taliban shura is free of working even choosing their new leader after the former killed (Asghar, 2016).

10. Diplomatic Problems of Pakistan

Asad Ejaz Butt is the writer of this opinion piece in the Daily Times published on 9th of August 2016. According to the writer there is no country facing external threats more than Pakistan. Pakistan has these threats from its neighbours as well as other countries. The US-Pak relations are not very good due to the Haqqani network and other extremist groups hidden in the Northern areas of Pakistan. The Indo-Pak relations are souring due to the Kashmir conflict, water disputes, skirmishes on the LoC, and the membership of the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG). The relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan are also not very good due to the proxy wars. The representatives of the foreign policy are facing numerous international problems. The government has to tackle such hurdles that are on the way of development and establishment. Explaining the emerging friendship of India and Afghanistan, the writer said that Pakistan is finding the ways of cooperation and understanding with Afghanistan. Due to avoiding the terms of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) for a long time, Pakistan and India both were denied membership of the Nuclear Arms Group. This is the sign of the bad reputation of both states in the region. China is considered as a big hurdle for the Indian membership in the NSG. The writer said there is no external involvement in the foreign policy of Pakistan and the foreign policy is not the India-centric. India is the member of Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and on the contrary Pakistan is not urge to seek the membership of the MTCR. In the end of this opinion piece, the writer suggested that the research and development branch of the foreign policy department should be active. It should be activated instantly with an authorization to identify and build on diplomatic opportunities defending the country on international frontiers and preserving its all national interests including social, political and economic interests. The conspiracies adjoining the policy foundations must be avoided to promote a rational sense of principle. He also suggested that it should *"Build a policy of consensus that is clear, well-communicated, and is not confused by the stakeholders involved with policy formulation, espousal or advocacy processes"*(Butt, 2016).

11. Conclusion

In this research, it has been found out that the role of the newspapers and the importance of print media is essential part of the policy making process. It is testified that the governments of different states has been censoring the news published in their territory so that people can see only the things the government wants. But these are the times when press is free from any censorship and the limits of public and public opinion are no more confined by governments. Because of Globalization and access of internet in every part of the world, the pressure of public can be national as well as international. So the newspapers are playing a complicated role. They are considered as the neutrals but they are under the pressure of different Political groups. The US-Pakistan relations with the perspective of print media are going to be discussed in this report. The so-called free and neutral newspapers of the United States are proved to be conservative and biased when they published the news of their own national benefit.

Before discussing the US Pak relations, it is necessary to know the strategic importance of Pakistan. Pakistan is situated in South Asia's strategically most important area. It has boundaries with world's largest population as well second largest population: China and India, respectively. The other two countries are Iran and Afghanistan. Both are Muslim countries.

In this research, there are two newspapers of Pakistan, the Dawn and the Daily Times discussing about the Pak-US relations after US withdrawal from Afghanistan. The other two papers are chosen from America these newspapers explain the thinking of the American people regarding the post-US withdrawal from Afghanistan and its implications to Pakistan. First of all, this is necessary to know that USA deployed its military forces to combat the militants and terrorist living in Afghanistan. USA started its war in Afghanistan after 9/11 incident deploying 13,000 troops. This decision was taken by the former US President George W. Bush accusing that Afghan Taliban are providing harbour to Al-Qaeda. There were other allied powers sending their forces in the shape of NATO forces in Afghanistan. Increasing with the time the deployment level reached to 98,000 in 2009. Then after this number US decided to pull out its troops from Afghanistan in three years it decreased to the level of 65,000. In 2014 US forces handed over the security of the country to the Afghan military forces. It was planned that by the end of 2015 there will be 5,500 troops remained in the country which was a small number, and complete drawdown was planned, by the end of 2016.

In 2013 Pakistan was hostile to US due to the drone attacks by USA. In October 2013 Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif visited Washington. The visit played a vital role in mending the frayed relations of the both countries. Prime Minister visited US to explore a way of peaceful talks and negotiations. He wanted to close down the drone attacks from his country. US President Barak Obama was also keen to resolve the tensions between both countries. It was difficult for USA to stop drone attacks but the President promised to give financial aid to Pakistan so that Pakistan could counter terrorism on its own. And after eight months of this meeting, Operation Zarb-e-Azb was started to counter terrorism. Being the ambassador of democracy, US President appreciated the peaceful democratic transaction of power of Pakistan and he pledged the support in the education and economic fields.

Comparing the Pakistani and US newspapers, it is concluded that Pakistani newspapers are in favour of US withdrawal from Afghanistan completely. They consider that most tensions in the country are created by the USA. They explain that USA is exploiting the region, creating tensions between Pakistan and Afghanistan. They consider that US military is playing a double role because they are supporting Taliban as well as pretending counter terrorism operations. But on the other side US newspaper criticised the same double role is played by

Pakistan. They accused that Pakistan is a danger for South Asia and there should be a space for a country like USA to resolve the issues and secure the region.

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